

The Detachment of the Homogenizing discourse and lived for Resettled Hydropower plant Irapé: the Landscape of Reification of Logic and the “Development”

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Abstract— This work intends to present the mechanisms used by the "development" and the experiences of the people compulsorily displaced due to the Irapé HPP in the Jequitinhonha Valley, stigmatized as a "valley of misery". For this purpose, literature review, qualitative research, case study, field work, etc. It was carried in October Also Analyzes the Disproportionate power to suppress rights and lead the population to accept the "rules of the game". The pressures for homogenization que Suppresses the socio-cultural diversities of the "being and doing" of the peasant, the emptying and disqualification of the confrontations that make invisible the social movements. The relativization of the symbolic value of land, inheritance, traditions, way of life and the multiple uses of land and nature, Which are despised by entrepreneurs. In this way, the resolution of conflicts is enabled by reification, Which Merely prioritizes the economic logic, Which Understands the people of the place object to another in the natural landscape.

Keywords— Irapé, affected, speech.

I. INTRODUCTION

Modern society lives under the umbrella of the capitalist system, whose basic philosophy is to produce and consume continuously. In this regard, Carneiro (2005), notes that part of capitalism's nature, the pursuit of maximizing the accumulation of abstract wealth through the continuous production, to satisfy a consumer market increasingly hungry for new products.

To feed gear production-consumption, constructs capitalists as industries are driven to transform natural resources into products and is essential in this context, the electricity that moves machines, processes, raw materials, lights artificial consumption centers, such as Shopping malls and also provides operation of numerous products available to the market.

Important to mention that not only the industry depends on energy for its operation, but also the products themselves of capitalist industry, available to the consumer market. Thus, there is no way to use electronic devices such as computers, cell phones, etc. microwave oven without, at some point, connect them to a power source, which makes the demand for electricity, is increasingly bigger.

Important to note that, as Zhouiri; Oliveira (2005), there is also, in Brazil, demand for electricity to supply the consumption of foreign companies. Since, periphery economies as is the case of our country, serving the capitalists interests the central economies harboring intensive industries in energy use, such as the Canadian Novelis Brazil (formerly Alcan) among others, whose purpose is to use the cheap labor from third world countries, and exploit to exhaustion, natural resources scarce in their home countries, in the production of intermediate products with low added value for export.

On the other hand, the production of electricity in Brazil, whose energy mix is predominantly hydroelectric, requires the exclusive use of large areas. Thus, several changes are checked in the sovereign territory involved, since they are flooded many kilometers of fertile land, with suppression of natural and cultural landscapes, fauna and especially imposing expulsion displacement of the local population.

The speech propagated by the managers of hydroelectric projects, government and political leaders are in the sense that the work will progress, development, increase the income of the population, and therefore

something to be desired by the people. The fallacy is still to ensure that the impacts on the lives of local people will be insignificant, easy adaptability, corrected and mitigated through financial compensation, collective resettlement etc. In the case of Plant Irapé, located in a poor region of Minas Gerais, the Jequitinhonha Valley, the speech focused on the constructed image, the "out" Valley, giving him the pejorative label of "Valley of Misery" strategy that serves to instill a general acceptance that the power plant is the only chance of the Valley exit delay, to develop economically, and provide improved the living conditions of the population.

It is felt that the development discourse is not always accompanied by practical results, emerging from an unbalanced context of disputes over ownership of spaces and natural resources. Two rationales operating in non convergent logic: The interests of farmers in the defense of their rights, as historically use of natural space with various social and collective purposes and thence derive their livelihood from fishing, farming, extraction, etc. Of opposite side, the hydroelectric entrepreneur who sees from the resources / natural spaces meet the demands of capital, with regard to the availability of energy for industries allocated anywhere in the country. This dominant logic, the use of such resources to the market, it is inevitable and urgent.

The hydropower plants are generating various conflicts, according Zhou et. al (2005) as a result of impacts suffered by the local population, ranging from the loss of the material basis of its existence as rivers, land etc. as well as the breakdown of family ties, neighborhood, loss of identity, symbolic values and difficulties repossession.

In this sense, this article aims to verify the tuning level between discourse and practice with regard to the project of Irapé hydroelectric plant, trying to analyze the situations and impacts experienced by affected were resettled in Araras farm in Francisco Sá, as well how conflicts triggered in this context.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gestated in the capitalist mode of production, large industrial projects are synonymous with development for the regions in which they are inserted. Thus, the speeches preceding the works, greatly maximizing its positive aspects and relativize the numerous negative impacts they cause. Incidentally, the word development was so strategically crafted in the capitalist context, which in time came to exercise a certain fascination in people so that, as noted Gómez (2002) It seems to be almost a sin anyone dare to raise questions or

to position contrary the stocks that are considered alavancadoras development.

One can not ignore the context in which came the word development not to commit the ingenuity to associate it only the positive aspects touted in speeches conveniently formulated by capitalist core countries to achieve adhesion of the South, its expansionist policies. As we teach Sachs (2000, p.11) "the development provided the essential framework for that mixture of generosity, blackmail and oppression that characterized the south directed policies."

The developers aim to legitimize the discourse industrial projects. Thus, the rhetoric is all built on the formation of a positive image of the work of Salvationists character for the region, generating jobs and income. Foucault (2005, p.10) warns us that "the speech is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but that why, for that struggle, the power of which we want to seize".

The reservoir Irapé, consumed 137.16 km², promoting the private appropriation of natural resources in the region that led to the removal of portions of the most fertile lands of the Valley region, this total about 90 square kilometers were native cerrado vegetation. The peasants who depended on the river lowlands faced with a severe change in their modes of social reproduction. The river was also very important for those who made their living from fishing or supplemented their income from this activity. In this sense, the speech that preceded the work represented a strategy to reduce the opposition on what the project would need to take over (water resources).

Santos (. 1999, p 173), although this perspective, reminds us of the following on the experiences after the implementation of hydropower projects:

When we say that the dams come bring, (..) to a region, the hope of salvation of the economy (..) all these are symbols that allow us to accept the rationality of the object, in fact, on the contrary, can accurately come to destroy our relationship with nature and impose unequal relations.

Fleet (2001) considers the deployment of a hydroelectric power plant substantially changes the environment and these changes are due to interventions on the media (soil, underground water, etc.) and biotic (fauna, flora, etc.) in the project execution process. The social and environmental impacts, given the subjectivity of features, complexity and dinamicidades involved, to be minimally reduced, require non-linear and costly solutions.

In this perspective, a hydroelectric power plant, when ordering the almost exclusive use of natural resources in the region, suppressing the biosphere hitherto existing, as well as requiring the local population involuntary displacement, the unwinding of the way of life, the loss of family ties and neighborhood will be a necessarily a source of conflict of interests.

On the impacts of a hydroelectric, Zhouri; Oliveira (2007) mention that the populations of local lose from its base material existence (land, rivers, etc.) to the cultural and symbolic references, kinship networks and collective memory.

Zhouri; Oliveira (2007) to discorrerem on what they call "paradigm of adaptation" shows that the realization of a large hydroelectric project becomes unquestionable, and the impacts of the intervention, considered mitigated externalities through financial compensation, thus emerging the reifying character the strategies implemented by the managers of the plant, government and political leaders.

In this way immaterial values of coastal communities, such as: the traditions, the social ties of kinship neighborhood as well as the values assigned to the lands, which are often family heirlooms, are converted into goods or components of the natural landscape, subject to economic valuation, therefore compensable goods. This is the reifying conception that seeks to materialize the possible path of monetization of everything around you.

The affected people are under pressure from all sides so that, in a way, to pass to value new habits, new times, times those not rooted in the past and in diversity, one start founded on the homogenization of socio-cultural diversity, as asserts Zucarelli (2015), streamlined for a "modernized" social being transformed after Irapé. A new beginning that much was lost or emptied, such as identity and social ties, given the fragmentation imposed on the sprawling people from several municipalities, that have nothing to compare the specifics of the living peasant of Jequitinhonha banks, such as the resettlement of Araras farm. Such pressures compromise even the subjective aspects: sense, meaning, cultures collective memories, etc. In summary, in this logic, social being is also understood as another "object in the natural landscape" as inform us Sigaud; Vainer (1986, 2004, cited Zhouri; Oliveira (2007).

Zucarelli (2015), argued that in the process of formalizing the licensing of hydroelectric empreendimento, there are diverse ways to relativize, soften or adjust things, to justify and not comply with environmental legislation. This is from the streamlined

flexibility through mitigation measures, compensatory, conditions that allow the advancement of an unfinished phase to the next phase of the project, terms, agreements, negotiation mechanisms that meet the formal role of democratic participation, but in practices are stratagems of unlimited adequacy policy by the interests of capital / market. More flexible in this context often means suppressing rights.

On the legal mechanisms, tell us Zhouri; Oliveira (2005) that the environmental licensing, in practice, does not provide the riverside communities, the condition of active participation in discussions on the project viability in a broad context, leaving them only secondary opportunities, such as: to discuss compensation values, possible grounds for implementation of resettlement.

At another point, Zhouri et. al (2005) add that the technical language of the documents, becomes a limiting factor in the participation of people impacted by the project, the difficulty or impossibility of understanding of the terms / codes / signs contained in the reports and other documents. Another consequence of this language is that it impose a point of view on the issue, disqualifying and delegitimizing the claims of those affected.

Marques (2005) says that the impact on the lives of people relocated due to construction of hydroelectric plants are large and beyond controversies about a new place of residence or issues related to the amounts of compensation. Trigger to the new place adaptation problems, hindering the process of repossession, due to cultural differences between the resettled and the inhabitants of the new region. It is very common in the new place of residence, people receive treatment through derogatory names like "drowned".

Zhouri; Oliveira (2007) show in their studies, a social or collective identity, established in the communities affected by the project Irapé fruit of different generations interacted in that geographic space, with shared values and the same way of acting and producing sustenance. These authors emphasize in this regard, including on the seizure system of lands and natural resources, known as "land on the cake" when there were areas of collective and family use, that the inheritance did not generate division of land, which is fully maintained to the family.

It is important to note that the local population, affected by Irapé venture can be considered peasant. To support our thinking about this, we turn to Santos (2016) that examined the terms that the inhabitants of the Jequitinhonha Valley understand being representative of their conditions. This perspective is very clear that people do not see themselves only as "achieved". The term

"improper" neither would characterize the situation of these people, as only covers the aspect of the material property of the land, not taking into account the intangible assets that are also lost in the involuntary transfer process, such nomenclature subtracts the perception of related senses violations suffered by achieved.

Ribeiro (1993, p.46), this perspective tells us the following in relation to the nineteenth century: "(...) areas of the Jequitinhonha, at the end of the last century was characterized on the one hand, the presence of a peasant economy as evidenced by the large number of farmers and the small percentage of skilled labor captive (...) "

Also according to Ribeiro (1993), in Jequitinhonha farmers were established in the vicinity of farms generally as aggregates, residents in the land of the farmer, exercising, in return, the activities of the farm and living primarily from his work, in agriculture, whose harvest was still share with the landowner. The author also mentions a kind of autonomous peasant on the owners of large farms once owned their own land and produce in it the support of the family and could still trade surplus in the local market. This kind would, in our view, the most like the families that came involuntarily to resettlement in Araras, since they had their family properties, which grew in the low waters. So much so that, as compensation,

The adoption of the term peasant in Brazil is recent, as tells us Martins (1981), to clarify that the use of this expression in academic and political terms, occurred only in 1960. Until then, according to this author, the workers from rural areas, unpaid for wages, were known by terminology regionalized and even derogatory, as in the case of the term "hillbilly". Who has not at least talk about the character Jeca Tatu, created by Monteiro Lobato, representing a hillbilly considered lazy?

Martin (1981) emphasizes that even after only 60, it verifies that two opposing classes in the field, represented by Squires, which were the owners of large farms, and the rubes, now known as farmers. The strategy of the landowners, to give a sense of usefulness huge areas of unproductive land, state capitalism in expansion, was occupying huge areas with monoculture plantations, which also occurred in the Jequitinhonha Valley, as well observe Zhouri; Oliveira (2005), the emergence, in the 1970s, the eucalyptus monoculture, even on public land.

Side of the peasantry, under the dictates of the hegemonic capitalism, what was perceived was an attempt to change the meaning of the peasant term, under the political and even ideological point of view, trying him impose an entrepreneur occupation under the

nomenclatures family farmers or family farmer. In this regard, we find Marques (2002, p.3), as follows:

(...) however, in the 70s, the concept of small production is now used as an alternative to the peasant for his operational nature and supposedly better represent the reality of a state by the subject field to the disarticulation of their movements social and a set of modernizing stamp policy.

Shanin (2005, p.3) to mention on the economy of the farmers, provides us with important features for delineamos the peasantry, though, are several forms of consideration of this social class: "(...) is characterized by extensive forms of autonomous occupation (ie family labor), for control of own means of production, subsistence economy and multidimensional occupational qualification (...). "

III. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This article, predominantly qualitative nature, aimed at analyzing the gap between theory and practice in regard to the socio-cultural impacts experienced by people affected by hydroelectric plant Irapé, resettled in Araras farm, Francisco Sa, and intended to examine the conflicts triggered.

Thus, there was a case study with field research, through the implementation of semi-structured interviews conducted with the people transferred to the resettlement of Araras.

On field research, Brandão (2007) highlights positive aspects such as experience and contact, in order to understand what needs to be known. Moreover, this type of research, there is the advantage of the presentation of updated data, strongly related to the goal and classified according to the analysis needs.

Regarding the semi-structured interview, it is important to mention that according to Duarte; Furtado (1991), it is processed in the form of a conversation that occurs between two people for one of them to collect information on a particular subject

Of the 26 planned interviews, if effectively implemented 22 of them because four people had sold their plots / tracts, returning to the vicinity of the place of origin, according to testimony from neighbors.

It held also literature, and the works consulted were obtained by searching the banks of Google Acadêmico¹ and Scielo² data from the use of expressions related to the theme, such as "socio-cultural or socio-economic impacts arising from the hydroelectric construction "" resettlement arising from hydropower "," identity or kinship ties or religious traditions or after dam

construction "and" conflicts in hydroelectric projects. " They were analyzed also several works that allowed to know the developmental ideological discourse that precedes the construction of major works, including Hidreléticas Plants

The literature is that which, according to Duarte; Furtado (1991), used lifting techniques and material selection, techniques for reading and for the appointment (scheme summary review, BOOK REPORT, etc.).

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The 26 families resettled in Araras, according to field research, come from the municipalities of Cristália, Botumirim and Mogol, left bank of the Rio Jequitinhonha. It is noteworthy that four of these families have sold their homes and returned to the source of municipalities, given the difficulties of adapting to the new place, according to testimony from neighbors. This difficulty of repossession is described by Marques (2005) mentions that the impacts on the lives of people involuntarily relocated, due to the hydroelectric power plant construction, are large, going beyond financial matters as the compensation values.

Another visible impact in Araras resettlement, according to interview data, it was the breaking of family ties and neighborhood. The place of origin 59% of people living near relatives and 41% near neighbors who were regarded as family.

It is important to note that the negative impacts linked to kinship and neighborhood ties breaks are checked at various hydroelectric projects and has become even a situation "somehow" be regarded the normal ones by entrepreneurs, governments and political authorities. So that in a study of Environmental hydroelectric plant hopper impact, the situation was placed in plain terms and even as a natural phenomenon, as evident from the word that now grifamos, the transcript then extracted Pereira Study (2014):

[...] it is important to emphasize the strong neighborhood ties and kinship which unite the inhabitants of the area directly affected HPP funnel. With the compulsory displacement of this population, it is common to occur breakdown of these bonds and the loss of historical references, relevant social and cultural (EIA HPP Funnel Leme Consulting VI: II / p.51)

There was, as a result of Irapé enterprise, the loss of an existing social identity in the territory of origin, Zhouiri; Oliveira (2007) also found in their studies. According to these authors, in areas of the Upper and

Middle Jequitinhonha, the seizure system of lands and natural resources, it was the so-called "land on the cake" in which predominant areas of collective and family use, the inheritance did not generate division of land, keeping - a fully to the family.

Note that the different generations shared, in countries of origin, of a collective identity, sharing similar values and ways of acting and provide for their families, from fishing, planting in low waters, etc.

The change of the physical and social space for Araras shows that it was not possible to reproduce this collective identity until the time of the survey.

The loss of collective identity also reflects the difficulty of maintaining the traditions that are, in fact, the history of a people, as a result of the various interactions of several generations in a given territory.

Resettlement of Araras, 86.4% of respondents said they are unable to attend or play parties in the new place, which was recurrent in ancient sites.

The lack of religious temples in Araras resettlement, points to another negative impact on the lives of the settlers, difficulty in continuing to profess their faith in churches collectively. The nearest places of worship are fifteen kilometers from the resettlement and access conditions are not good.

The issue of access to water in Araras farm resettlement is another matter quite emblematic and reinforces the social suffering that is subject to the new location, since these families lived near the Rio Jequitinhonha, having no problem with the water supply in its various uses. Importantly cultivation in low water, characteristic of the place of origin, it was not possible in the new place, since the water is pumped from wells, in limited quantities, the nearest river is contaminated.

About this, Santos (1999, p. 173), shows us the sad contradiction between discourse and the situation faced by resettled people, despite the existence of documents that establish criteria on the characteristics of the sites to be acquired for resettlement purposes in that water quality is a determining factor:

When we say that the dams have to bring (..) to a region, the hope of salvation of the economy (..) all these are symbols that allow us to accept the rationality of the object, in fact, on the contrary, you can just come to destroy our relationship with nature and impose unequal relations.

V. CONCLUSION

It appears from the research that families resettled in Araras farm experienced strong commitment

of kinship, neighborhood, and loss of social identity and losses as the traditions and religious practices, and other losses in the material field, as the difficulty of access the water.

The most troublesome experience in Araras, allows us to infer that there is a gap between the discourse and the situation experienced by people resettled in Araras, since the managers of the enterprise and the government of Minas Gerais, boasted that not only would progress to the region stigmatized as "Valley of Misery" as the impacts on people's lives would be small and properly mitigated.

It is known that it is very complex and costly, and therefore neglected by the project managers, mitigate impacts such as those described by Zhouri et. al (2005) with respect to loss of cultural and symbolic references, kinship networks and collective memory. Even the more concrete issues such as the access to resettlement, water supply did not occur satisfactorily, so that the water in the new place is pumped from wells to homes in insufficient volume for all activities that depend on it, and the nearest river, green river has contaminated water.

The current mode of production is different because there is a river for fishing, or ebb for planting and this has caused many families they could not play the way of life, returning to the municipalities of origin.

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¹System that offers specific tools for researchers to seek and find literature.

²Scientific Electronic Library Online - electronic library of Brazilian scientific journals.